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Pat Buchanan and His Critics

by Murray N. Rothbard

The response to Pat Buchanan's run for the presidency provides one of the clearest demonstrations in years that we have been living in a two-tier political culture: the public, and the media elites. The public's response was overwhelmingly favorable. Everywhere in New Hampshire, Pat was greeted by people who were followers as well as admirers; while remarkable support poured in to Buchanan headquarters from all over the country. It was a fascinating question how the media elite would react: the leading journalists from the major press and TV outlets; the pundits from New York, Cambridge, and inside the Beltway. Since virtually all these people know Pat personally and like him, the key question was this: in appraising Pat's race, would they follow their personal judgment and friendship, or would they heed the call of ideology, money, and power? Overwhelmingly, and unsurprisingly, they chose the latter; in our day, loyalty to friends is hardly a valued commodity. Indeed, one of Pat's most admirable and old-fashioned qualities is nowadays considered a weakness: loyalty and fidelity to past employers and colleagues. Pat, bless him, is the last person in the world to work for a team or in a cause and, the day after his resignation, to rush into print with the inside dirt from his secret journal. In this as well as in other, more ideological ways, Pat Buchanan is a man of the Old Culture, of a culture that seemed to have died abruptly in America sometime in the late 1960s; and this is one of the reasons many of us love him.

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The Smear Redux

And so the media elite brought back The Smear, the tired old "anti-Semite" calumny that Pat had surmounted, smashed, and triumphantly survived without a scratch the year before. The problem is that the Smear Bund has no new evidence; they could only trot out the same old flimsy baloney: on the Gulf War, Israel and its "amen corner"; ethnic names like "Murphy" and "Gonzalez" of American soldiers likely to die in a Gulf War; and Pat's long-term defense of Ivan Demjanjuk as an alleged "war

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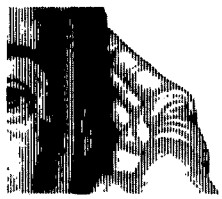

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

Hot news: Charles Koch, the Founder, has just resigned from the board of the Cato Institute! Can Eddie Crane's ouster be far behind? A friend of mine who attended a recent Institute for Humane Studies (Kochtopus) meeting for businessmen in Wichita (Koch's homebase) tells me that, in the corridors, *all* the talk was about the heating up of the fight between Richie Fink and Ed Crane, and general opinion was that Crane would be out on his ear within a year.

One puzzle: it is not known, even to most Cato board members, that Koch set up Cato with founding Stockholders, of whom there are now three left: Charles Koch, Ed Crane, and Koch's flunky George Pearson. The Stockholders have only one legal power, but that power is crucial; they can fire the Board and reconstitute it. Query: Has Charles also resigned as Stockholder?

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(THE EAR cont. from P.1)

At a Cato staff meeting called to announce the departure of Charles, Ed Crane denounced his old patron as crazy for changing his mind about left-libertarianism and becoming "obsessed" with "market-based management" (gratitude never being a Modal attribute). We still hope to get his money, said Ed, just not his control. Sure, Ed. Charles is famous for wanting to run the organizations he funds. If he doesn't run it, he doesn't fund it.

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One reason for the rift between Charles Koch and Ed Crane is Ed's mania, in recent years, about building his monument, the new Cato Building in Washington. Spurning advice to build more space on Cato's existing plant, Crane, acting like some villain out of *Fountainhead* or like a demented Pharaoh, insisted: I must have my building, and it must be bigger than that of any other think tank in Washington: bigger than Heritage, bigger than Brookings. In this recession, Ed found that he could sell the existing building for much less than he expected, and also failed to raise enough donations for the Crane (oops, Cato) Building. So he decided to go into debt. None of this pleased Charles, who operates out of truly Spartan headquarters in Wichita.

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Meanwhile, the Finkian Center for Market Processes at George Mason is saving its hide by transforming itself from a crazed center for nihilist-hermeneutics, is cutting itself loose from the economics department, and is becoming a non-ideological center for Charles Koch's new kick: "market-based management."

Hey, Charles, what's "market-based management"? I thought that *all* management, in a market economy, was and had to be "market-based"? Am I missing something?

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As Koch cuts loose from Cato, and CMP and IHS are rapidly being transformed from concern with ideas and ideology to institutions for "market-based management," it looks very much that the Kochtopus as so many of us have loved and hated it, is dying. The new Kochian critter of market-based management is going to be totally non-ideological, and therefore removed from our concerns. And so, Charles, is it really going to be Bye, Bye at long last? Is it really going to be Kochtopus, 1977-1992, RIP?

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Possibly related to the Fink-Crane struggle is the curious fact that the recent *Reason* magazine, usually not interested in this kind of gossip, took several sharp digs at Nadine Strossen, head of the ACLU, attacking Nadine for being an anti-libertarian leftist in (a) wanting to outlaw pinups in the workplace as an invasion of women's rights; and (b) wanting to make it illegal for parents to take kids out of sex-education classes in the public schools. Kochologists believe that these perfectly correct digs at Nadine flow from the fact that Ed Crane has been pushing Nadine a lot recently, featuring her at Cato gatherings as a great civil libertarian. And Richie Fink is on the board of the Reason Foundation. The plot thickens!

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Another possible straw in the wind: Crane's old friend, isolationist political scientist Earl Ravenal, whom Eddie used to refer to affectionately as "Earl the Pearl," has also just resigned from the Cato Board, after having been on it almost from the beginning.

Is the Ravenal resignation related to the Koch withdrawal? Or, as some speculate, is it out of pique that Ravenal had been replaced as top isolationist scholar at Cato by the younger, less intelligent, but more prolific Ted Galen Carpenter?

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The new *Reason* features an ad for a poster of "Penises of the Animal Kingdom." "Whether used as an educational resource, decoration for home or office, or unique gift, "Penises of the Animal Kingdom" will provide hours of fascination and enjoyment."

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Exactly as predicted in the *RRR*, neocon *Reason* editor Virginia Postrel has canned Martin Wooster as the magazine's D.C. correspondent. The replacement is Modalissimo Rick Henderson.

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One of my favorite writers is Bill Kauffman, a Northern Agrarian from Batavia, New York, who has a marvelous phrase in the January *Chronicles:* about the "enormous gulf between those who live in America and those who run it." He was writing about true vs. phony populism, in rock 'n roll and elsewhere. Kauffman was the last good writer in *Reason* magazine, but several years ago he was fired as its Washington editor for being an isolationist. A paleo before his time!

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Yes, thanks to us, there's polarization among both left and paleo-libertarians, but hasn't *Reason* taken it too far? Are libertarians *supposed* to be moaning about sexism, racism, homophobia, xenophobia, nativism, etc.? As for us, it's the xenophiliacs we're suspicious of.

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A year and a half ago, the favorite European libertarian of the U.S. Libertarian Party, the International Society for Individual Liberty, and *Liberty*'s Big Bill Bradford, was the head of the Canadian LP: Stanislaw Tyminski. In the fall of 1990, Tyminski had vaulted into prominence by stunning everyone and coming in second in the race for president of Poland. In the summer of 1991, Tyminski formed his own party in Poland, oddly named Party X, and prepared for the parliamentary elections in October, when the new party won three out of 460 seats. Our own view of Tyminski at *RRR* was wary and restrained, since he impressed us as a flake and a Polish Modal. In a letter to raise funds last summer for the elections Party X set forth its major plank, not liberty but ridding the Polish government and media of Jews. Writing in all capital letters, Party X declared that "strong support for Party X is, at the present time, the only chance the Polish people have of liberating themselves from the domination of the Jews." I wonder: why the strange silence these days from the LP, ISIL, and Bill Bradford?

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At the City College of New York in Harlem, once a distinguished institution of higher learning, nine people were crushed and trampled to death and 29 injured by a crowd trying to get into a celebrity basketball game played by their favorite rap stars. After the first three were killed in the crush on the stairwell to the arena, the game, which had already begun, was called off. This announcement angered the fans, some of whom jumped from the bleachers to trample more people. Other fans demanded their money back while people were dying around them, and while some tried to help, still others laughed or demanded autographs from the rap stars.

When emergency medics finally arrived at the gym, they were pummelled, beaten, hair pulled out, and choked by the mob trying to get them to tend to particular friends. Meanwhile, someone at a microphone was keeping count, "seven dead!"

The media are reacting by blaming the university for poor security. But what I'd like to know is: (1) what kind of people are anxious to see musicians, even their favorite ones, play basketball; (2) what kind of people would trample each other to death to *get into* a building, even a celebrity basketball game; and (3) what sort of people would greet emergency medics by assaulting them?

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"The problem with Pat Buchanan," Ed Crane told *Liberty* in November 1990, "is that he's fundamentally a conservative, and he has terrible views on social issues . . . you know, this idea that there has to be a certain kind of cultural view; that's one of the problems I have with Pat Buchanan. He wrote a horrible column on how the U.S. should give serious consideration to inviting some of the northeastern Canadian provinces into the United States because that would reinforce our Euro-ethnic heritage. That's borderline racism to talk that way. There's always been a kind of—I don't want to say racist—a very intolerant attitude among people like Rothbard and Rockwell, on ethnic and cultural matters, and even on the question of sexual diversity."

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The New Republic, which has recently changed its diverse orientation, reports that the Cato Institute and *Reason* magazine have "embraced" Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts as a libertarian. *TNR*, Cato, and *Reason* define him as a libertarian because he's a fiscal conservative who endorses gay rights and abortion on demand. That's tax-funded abortion, and by gay rights, Willie means outlawing discrimination against homosexuals.

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Paleoism is doomed, David Boaz, executive vice president of Cato, told *TNR*; "There are fewer social conservatives every year because of the workings of the mortality tables."

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Congrats to Bill Niskanen, chairman of the Cato Institute, and Doug Bandow, its senior fellow, for endorsing Pat Buchanan over the opposition of Ed Crane and David Boaz.

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Another wacky fundraising letter from Advocates for Self-Government president, Carole Ann Rand. She explains how, at the cost of many bucks apiece, she creates new Modals. (Gee, thanks, Carole.) And if you contribute by credit card, you can get a hat that reads: "Self-Governor: I govern what's under this hat . . . it ain't easy." Another definition of Modal (as if we needed one): anyone who would wear that hat.

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I know they're left-libertarians, but this is ridiculous: the official LP photo of candidates Andre Marrou and Nancy Lord shows them giving the clenched fist Communist Party salute.

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The Andre Marrou-Norma Segel romance, which many thought was dreamed up for the LP convention so Andre could nominate his actual girlfriend, Mary Ruwart, for veep is off—even if it was never on.

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Remember when Andre Marrou's 51-92 PAC claimed it had gotten the LP on the ballot in difficult North Carolina? It turns out not to be true. And that is apparently only the beginning of the LP's ballot access troubles.

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A secret meeting of LP bigwigs was called to wail about a "massive drop-off in contributions." The national office may not be open a year from now.

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Andre Marrou and his running mate, Nancy Lord, are no longer on speaking terms.

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Fearless Prediction: while the LP, like the Prohibition Party, will always be with us, after the Marrou debacle, it will for all intents and purposes disappear.

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A friend of ours called the other day to say, "once a week we should remember, in thanksgiving, the name of some Modal we no longer have to deal with. "This week," he said, "it's David Bergland."

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Has anyone noticed how, with the emergence of Pat Buchanan as the paleo candidate, how deliciously *irrelevant* the Left-libertarians–the LP, Ed Crane, David Boaz, Andre Marrou, *Liberty* magazine, *Reason* and all the rest–have suddenly become? Drat, these folks are hardly worth attacking anymore. Ain't that wonderful?

(Buchanan...cont. from P.1)

criminal" in Treblinka. A big problem here is that poor Demjanjuk's innocence has now been virtually conceded by the American media. Indeed, the tables are turning, and things look bad instead for the egregious Office of Special Investigation (OSI) of the Department of Justice, which for years has operated as a powerful fiefdom inside the Department of Justice, virtually shanghaiing long-time American citizens who happen to be immigrants, subjecting them to kangaroo justice, and deporting them, either to Israel, where they had never lived [a blatant violation of international law] or to their Communist-run East European countries of origin, there to be subjected to further kangaroo trials as "Nazi war criminals." It is curious that the very same people who proudly proclaim their love of immigration and open borders should be the first to deprive immigrants of their fundamental rights as American citizens.

How would Pat defend himself? Defending oneself in the public arena against a charge of anti-Semitism is extremely difficult; saying "I am not an anti-Semite" is as unconvincing as Nixon's famous "I am not a crook." Buchanan, however, has done extremely well, presenting the truth plainly, and not permitting the enemy to keep dwelling on the topic. The "amen corner" includes Christians as well as Jews; the soldiers' names were in reply to a pro-U.S.-in-Gulf-War article by the London *Economist* to show that the names of dead American soldiers would not be likely to be English; and so on. As for Pat's alleged hostility to Israel, again the simple truth: he believes that Palestinians as well as Israelis deserve a state of their own with secure borders; and he opposed the brutal Israeli methods of putting down the *intifada*, as well as Israeli promotion of settlements in Arab territories. And last but certainly not least, Pat's abiding conviction that American foreign policy should be decided on the basis of American interest and not the interest of any other nation, including Israel.

Now, not only are these positions of Pat perfectly reasonable in themselves, they are shared by the overwhelming majority of the American people, once one gets out of New York or Washington, D.C. Many of them are shared, in fact, by a large part of the Jewish population of Israel. These sentiments may drive the media elite to paroxysms of charging "anti-Semitism," but such tirades will make no mark on the American public.

It was even difficult for the media to demonize David Duke successfully; indeed, it took a blend of threats by employers that the tourist business would desert New Orleans should Duke win, plus showing pictures every ten seconds on television of a younger Duke in Ku Klux Klan robes or with a huge swastika behind him. In smearing Buchanan, the media elite has done its best to

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link Buchanan with Duke, hoping that the dirt would rub off. Even in the friendly Larry King interview, King inevitably brought up the Duke Question. To his great credit, Pat avoided the temptation to propitiate his enemies by engaging in an hysterical attack upon Duke. Instead, quietly and intelligently, Pat told the truth. He pointed out that he and Duke came from very different traditions: Pat grew up as a conservative Catholic, and became a Nixon and Reagan Republican; Duke was a Nazi and a Ku Kluxer. Now, Duke, as an "opportunist," has dropped his previous views and embraced Pat's conservative Republican positions. Certainly, Pat has emphasized repeatedly in response to interviewers, he does not propose to give up his own long-held convictions just because David Duke has recently embraced them. A superb answer. The implication is clear: people have free will, and we can never rule out the possibility of a sincere conversion from one creed to another. But while any ideology should welcome converts, it makes no sense to vault a newcomer into a top position in any church or movement. Seasoning, and trust, can only come with time.

It seems clear that this second wave of smear and innuendo against Pat Buchanan has failed as thoroughly as did the original. Indeed from the beginning the smear redux was considerably more restrained than the first anti-Buchanan wave. Perhaps the reason was the memo revealed by Sam Francis in his column (December 21). The memo was a "backgrounder" published by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) and distributed to interested journalists in November 1990, at the height of the first smear campaign. Apparently, the original hysterical charge of anti-Semitism leveled by Abe Rosenthal was such overkill that Pat's masterful counter-attack, pointing out that even the errors in the Rosenthal column had been copied from a "contract hit" against Pat written by the Anti-Defamation League, succeeded in smashing the smear campaign before it had had a chance to get off the ground. Now, the AJC backgrounder counselled restraint. Its author, Kenneth Stern, concluded that "unless he says something Mein Kampfish, we [?] should refrain from calling him an anti-Semite. That will only draw attention to him, and bring him defenders." Instead, Stern went on, it would be better to get a Christian or conservative to denounce Pat. May not this memorandum be the source of the sly tactic pursued, after Pat's announcement for the Presidency, with remarkable unanimity by such conservative critics as Mona Charen, William Safire, and especially Bill Buckley: that Pat may not be "an anti-Semite," but that he does, from time to time, say anti-Semitic things? [This ploy is as unconvincing as the sort of statement made by Dr. Albert Ellis and other shrinks: "There is no such thing as a bad person; there are only persons who do bad things." (Huh?)]

Buckley's essay is harrowingly serpentine, involuted and convoluted, as it coils back and forth upon itself.

Bill Buckley's Papal Bull

It is safe to say that Bill Buckley's 40,000-word screed on "Anti-Semitism," his Christmas gift to the conservative troops (special December 30 issue of *National Review*), will be more talked about than read. Buckley's prose always tended to the rococo, but in his early days it often sparkled with insight and wit. That sparkle is dead and gone. Buckley's essay is harrowingly serpentine, involuted and convoluted, as it coils back and forth upon itself, the point (if there is any) disappearing among the tangents and qualifications. One can finish it only if possessed by a stern sense of duty, as

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one grits one's teeth and plows through a pile of turgid and pointless student term papers—which, indeed Buckley's essay matches in content and in learning, as well as in style. To a Catholic friend of mine, reading the whole thing was doing penance: "I walked my Calvary," and finished it! John Elvin in the *Washington Times* was being too kind in calling Buckley's essay a "tedious epic." More on target was a long-time Buckleyologist who said that the entire essay was "one long subordinate clause."

What has happened to the one-time *enfant terrible* of the ideological world? From the evidence of this book (for it is soon to emerge in book form), Bill has fallen in love with the grandeur and cosmic significance of his own tortured thought processes. The essay presents no new facts or evidence; it is rather a detailed examination of the record of Buckley's own thoughts, such as they are, his own personal history, and a detailed presentation of his own articles, letters, and memos having to do with anti-Semitism, all these indigestible clots of past record strung together with qualifiers and subordinate clauses.

By rights, Bill's essay should not be summarized at all; for to summarize it is to give it far too much credit for clarity. The best I can do: (1) His long-time disciple and *NR* editor Joe Sobran is (a) certainly not an anti-Semite, but (b) "obsessed with" and "cuckoo about" Israel, and (c) therefore "contextually anti-Semitic" in our post-Holocaust age, and yet, worst of all, (d) he remains "unrepentant." (2) Pat Buchanan is not an anti-Semite, but has said unacceptably anti-Semitic things, "probably" from an "iconoclastic temperament"; yet, curiously, Buchanan too remains unrepentant; (3) Gore Vidal is an anti-Semite, and the *Nation*, by publishing his [hilarious] article critical of Norman Podhoretz, has revealed the Left's increasing proclivity for anti-Semitism; (4) Buckley's bully-boy disciples at the *Dartmouth Review* are not anti-Semites at all, but wonderful kids put upon by vicious leftists at Dartmouth; and (5) Norman Podhoretz and Irving Kristol are wonderful, brilliant people, and it is unclear (anti-Semitic?) why anyone should ever attack them.

This drivel requires little comment. Gore Vidal and the *Nation* can and do take care of themselves: Vidal possesses the intelligence and wit that Buckley once showed promise of acquiring; and the *Nation* has already delivered a blistering counter-attack (January 6 & 13, 1992). There is nothing new, whether of fact or insight, on Buchanan or Sobran; it's a tiresome rehash of the same old junk. Of more interest is Buckley's cruel and vicious treatment of Joe Sobran, a personal and ideological disciple who has virtually worshipped his mentor for two decades. Lashing out at a friend and disciple in public in this fashion, in order to propitiate Norman and Midge and Irving, is unforgivable; at the very least, it demonstrates that, as Frank Meyer used to say of Buckley: "Bill has no taste." Even tackier and more odious is Buckley, in his act of propitiation, joining the repellent modern trend of turning savagely on one's own parents. Taking his place as the Roseanne Barr Arnold of the American Right, Buckley declares that his own beloved father was an anit-Semite; essentially, Bill is standing before the American public and proudly proclaiming that he too is a Victim of Child Abuse, a victim of paternal anti-Semitism. Poor Bill!

In his actions toward his disciple and toward his own father, Buckley reveals the enormous gulf between his own character and that of Pat Buchanan: can one image, in a thousand years, Pat ever committing such acts of betrayal?

Another cross the reader has to bear is editor John O'Sullivan's toadying introduction to his employer's ruminations. Buckley's essay, O'Sullivan writes, was much too long for an NR article, but it was so perceptive and witty, such a "great read," and just so all-fired wonderful that O'Sullivan and his colleagues unanimously agreed that not one word could be cut. And so there was nothing for it but to put it out as a special issue, and then as a *National Review* book.

The only interesting thing about the Buckley essay is its purpose: what's the point of all this? At long last, Buckley, and

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especially O'Sullivan (who is at least still capable of constructing a coherent sentence) have come out of the closet to reveal *National Review*'s m.o. As many of us have long suspected, Buckley has always regarded himself as the self-anointed Pope of the conservative movement, the stern but merciful father, dispensing advice, pronouncing anathemas, and presiding over excommunications. As soon as Buckley and *National Review* took advantage of an intellectual and power vacuum on the Right by seizing control of the movement in the mid-1950s, he proceeded to excommunicate all heretics who might prevent the conservative movement from achieving respectability and political power. The late 1950s and early 60s were rife with such purges, as one by one all heretics were "disappeared": anti-Zionists, isolationists (such as long-time Old Rightist and anti-Communist John T. Flynn), Birchers, Libertarians, and Randians. As a result, by the mid-60s, the Right-wing, once a lively and diverse movement, had become an obedient and craven monolith ready to follow Buckleyite orders and, indeed, was suitably and insufferably "respectable" to the powers-that-be. Now, O'Sullivan comes right out and admits that that's what's been going on. In an act of *chutzpah* worthy of Buckley's buddy Alan Dershowitz, O'Sullivan now proclaims that "since its foundation, *National Review* has quietly (?) played the role of conscience of the Right." Without mentioning as perhaps too embarrassing the purge of isolationists and libertarians, O'Sullivan proclaims that NR had ejected anti-Semites and "the cranks of the John Birch Society . . . from the ranks of respectable conservatism." Now, with these latest charges of anti-Semitism, O'Sullivan declares that Buckley and himself, "before pronouncing" judgment on the various defendants, had to decide the crucial question: in each of these cases (Sobran, Buchanan, et al.), "was it a serious sin deserving excommunication," or merely an error "inviting paternal reproof," or "something of both?" All the while, conservatives must sit, wait, and bow down before the judgment of Pope Bill and his College of *NR* Cardinals. Buckley, in his convoluted way, proclaims the same view of his role. On the Birch Society, however, Buckley, as well as O'Sullivan, is unwontedly cryptic. What exactly was the mortal sin of the Birchers? Buckley admits that the Birch Society "was never anti-Semitic," but, he adds, the Society "was a dangerous distraction to right reasoning and had to be exiled." My God! "Dangerous distraction to right reasoning!" Well, then, it's off with their heads!

Having announced his retirement from *NR* and received his sendoff banquet, the aging despot is back, once again judging, pronouncing, and excommunicating.

It is surely curious that Bill Buckley, who cannot be distracted from his habitual contemplation of pure reason by skiing, yachting, or constant communication with Norman and Midge and Irving, should find the poor Birchers such clamorous interlopers into his mental processes that they had to be consigned, alas, to outer Siberia.

And now the old act is trotted out again. Having announced his retirement from *NR* and received his sendoff banquet, lo and behold! the aging despot is back, once again judging, pronouncing, and excommunicating. But, Bill, it's no longer 1958. There is no longer any need to mobilize a global anti-Soviet crusade, and, under cover of that need, to bring the Truman-Humphrey Democrat neoconservatives in as rulers of the conservative movement. Thirty-five years ago, when Bill and *NR* were young and feisty, *NR* was the only intellectual and power center on the Right. Them days, thank God, are gone forever. The very groups

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that Buckley once excommunicated and exiled, are back, popping up all over the place, and no one really care anymore about the tedious articles in *National Review* or about the unreadable effusions of Buckley's papal megalomania. The younger generation of paleoconservatives is very different from their forerunners, the gentle and non-ideological traditionalist scholars of yesteryear. The current paleos are brilliant and erudite, are trenchant and witty writers, and are keen, street-smart strategic thinkers who find it easy to keep their reverence for Papa Bill under very strict control.

So what if they held an excommunication and nobody came? Like the last days of Gorby, who issued pronouncements that no one heeded and held meetings of the Supreme Soviet that no one attended, no one cares any longer about Bill's excommunications. In fact, the Great Excommunicator is finding himself increasingly isolated, himself excommunicated from the movement that he once ruled with an iron fist. *Sic semper tyrannis*! No one deserves such a fate more than he.

And now, with Pat Buchanan as its political leader, the entire Right-wing has been transformed by Pat's courage in an instant, as if by magic; all of a sudden, after this transforming moment, the neocons, the Beltway time-servers, and *National Review*, for all their money and seeming institutional power, have become, quite simply, irrelevant. The Newest Right is also the Oldest: paleo-conservative, paleolibertarian. America First. John T. Flynn, Colonel McCormick, and the Original Right have risen up to take their revenge upon the once-young upstarts of *National Review*.

"Protectionism! Protectionism!"

When they finally get themselves off the anti-Semitic kick, Buchanan's critics among Official Conservatives prate endlessly about his alleged "protectionism." Even the special December 30 anti-anti-Semitic issue of *National Review* takes time out to express its editorial astonishment at a conservative being "protectionist." Interspersed with these ex-pressions of shock, lots of deplorings by conservatives about Pat's "nativism," as expressed in Pat's distinct lack of enthusiasm for unlimited immigration.

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But these issues are as phony and trumped-up as the canard of "anti-Semitism." There is no space here to analyze the complex immigration issue. Suffice it to ask this question: which, of all the presidential candidates of either party, are in favor of open borders? The answer is none. None of the candidates, actual or potential, even the neocon hero Jack Kemp, favor unlimited immigration immediately. Everyone favors some sort of immigration policy, and hence within that framework it is necessary to sit down calmly and decide what kind of policy to adopt. And, within such a framework, who could disagree with Pat's now famous remark on TV that it would cause fewer problems to admit one million Englishmen into Virginia than one million Zulus?

Back to protection. Once again, the relevant question to ask is: which of Buchanan's opponents favors free and unlimited trade? The answer is none: certainly not President Bush. For the Bushies to charge Buchanan with protectionism is grotesque, coming from an Administration with an ever more burgeoning protectionist record, an administration whose President brings along arrogant, inefficient, highly paid, public trough-feeders like the egregious Lee Iacocca to Japan to bash Japanese for daring to sell us automobiles of high quality and low price, while failing to purchase expensive American cars of crummy quality.

There is no evidence

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whatever that Pat Buchanan is more protectionist than George Bush. Quite the contrary. When Pat says that America should be victorious in any trade negotiations he is simply expressing a basic and unexceptionable tenet of American nationalism. In fact, Buchanan is quite right to be deeply suspicious of Bush's negotiated trade agreements with Mexico and other countries. For the "free trade" of George Bush and the Official Conservatives is a phony free trade; genuine free trade, as free-market economists know full well, needs no negotiations whatever: merely cuts in trade barriers by the U.S. government. And if Pat is such an all-fired protectionist, why did he name Ron Paul, a well-known libertarian and all-out free trader, Chairman of his Economic Advisory Committee? Does anyone think that George Bush or Jack Kemp or Dan Quayle would ever do the same?

The free trade question, to be cleared up, must be put in broader perspective: Genuine freedom of trade is not only unrestricted, it is also unsubsidized. And yet, since World War II, U.S. trade has been massively subsidized, and hence interfered with, by the gigantic and much-lauded racket known as "foreign aid." The excuses for foreign aid keep changing: bulwark against communism, reconstruction from wartime, economic development, humanitarian battle against famine, saving Gorby and the Soviet "center," but the stark essence of the system continues. For foreign aid is simply a system by which the American taxpayer is looted and exploited for the benefit of (a) the U.S. government bureaucracy; (b) the bureaucracy of the recipient foreign governments, which are thereby enabled to fasten their grip more strongly on their own subject populations; and (c) and foremost, American export firms and industries, upon whom the foreign governments spend their flow of dollars. In short: foreign aid is an elaborate racket by which the American taxpayer is forced to subsidize export firms and the bankers who finance them. *This* is "free trade?" And yet this is the interventionist system that Pat Buchanan wants to abolish, and this is the interventionist system that the neocons and the Official Conservatives wish not to abolish, but to elaborate and develop still further.

And finally, since Pat is opposed to economic or political world government, he is also necessarily opposed to one of the pet schemes of the Bush administration and of Official Conservatism: collaboration of the Fed with European and other Central Banks, leading to a world central banking cartel issuing an inflationary world paper money.

Which is more important, in the larger scheme of things on free international trade: a few tariffs, or massive foreign aid and inflationary world government? Stack up Pat Buchanan against any presidential candidate, existing or potential, and his bona fides in favor of genuine free markets and free trade are infinitely superior to his opponents.

Let's give the final word on this topic to the editorialists at *National Review*. Trying to show how wickedly protectionist Pat Buchanan is, NR quotes from Pat's reply to George Will on the Brinkley show, talking about the Mexican government: "What you have to do, George, you got to take off the burdens of taxes, of regulations off American business and industry, and then the United States can start to compete." Hey, libertarians, what's wrong with *that*?

We conclude that the whole protectionist issue is a phony from top to bottom, used only in a shabby attempt to link Pat up subliminally as a terrible "nativist," and therefore as some sort of, once again, "anti-Semite."

Pat's Liberal Critics

Pat Buchanan's conservative and centrist critics have been tiresome and hopeless, ringing the changes on the anit-Semitic, David Duke, protectionist, and nativist themes, hoping against hope that some of the dirt will stick. Sometimes, as in the case of James M. Perry in the *Wall St. Journal* (December 30), they go back once again to Pat's charming autobiography *Right From the Beginning*, and be-

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cause, like most working class and middle-class Americans, he got into scrapes as a youth, they write darkly about Pat's "anger," which is supposed to evoke some sort of fascist image. Funny how "rage" among the "oppressed" is supposed to be great and noble; but not so any equivalent emotion expressed by those trying to get out from under the oppression now being routinely visited upon them by the Officially Oppressed. Perry, a highly paid investigative reporter, does most of his investigating, not in his personal interview with Pat, but by combing through the autobiography looking for evidence of imperfection.

Most of the leftist writers on the Buchanan campaign, such as Dershowitz or Jack Newfield (New York *Post*, December 17) serve up the same old warmed-over anti-anti-Semite hysteria, left over from the year before. A few leftists, however, are a cut above the common herd, and actually exert some analytic powers on this new phenomenon. Sidney Blumenthal, resident expert on the Right at the *New Republic*, who himself had participated in the previous year's smear, lifts the level considerably this time (January 6 and 13). While engaging in the usual pro-forma anti-anti-Semitic smears (Pat's alleged Catholic authoritarianism, with dark references to Franco, Father Coughlin, and, but of course, the Spanish Inquisition), Blumenthal contributes something more. He points out that both Buchanan and Bush began their political careers during the Nixon Administration, and that Pat and Bush represent the two different strands of the Nixon legacy: pragmatism vs. hard-nosed ideology (which Blumenthal, being a leftist, translates as the "politics of resentment"). Moreover, Blumenthal perceptively sees that these two strands resonate still further back in Republican history to the great struggle of the 1930s and 1940s between the me-too, internationalist, preppie Rockefeller Republicans on the one hand, versus the Taft, America First, heartland Republicans on the other. Blumenthal sees that Buchanan is the reembodiment of the older Right, the heartland Republicanism of America First. And there is no need to underline the obvious sense in which George Bush is Mr. Rockefeller, in every sense.

But Blumenthal's perceptiveness does not stop there. For he sees, too, that by his very entry into the race, Pat Buchanan has transformed the American Right.. By tapping and rousing heartland sentiment, he has, at almost a single stroke, made it over into a paleo movement. It should not be overlooked, incidentally, that Buchanan is a valued member of the John Randolph Club, the organization formed in 1990 as a fusion of the paleoconservative and paleolibertarian strands into one mighty ideological movement. Blumenthal points out that the leading paleocon monthly, *Chronicles*, marginalized and "on the periphery of conservatism" under Reagan and Bush, "has become suddenly engaged at its center as the Bush-Buchanan race looms." As Blumenthal perceives, *Chronicles* is now "the standard-bearer of the Buchananite right." And Blumenthal has the good sense to quote from Tom Fleming's superb article in the outstanding "America First 1941/1991," December issue of *Chronicles*. Fleming's preferred strategy, which to Blumenthal "establishes the case for Buchanan": ". . . we have to shoot the elephant in such a way that he falls on the donkey and crushes it. it might take a generation just to haul away the rotting carcasses, but we would be able, for the first time since 1932, to breathe clean air." What a magnificent vision, expressed in Fleming's typical inspiring and hard-edged style!

Another discerning voice on the Left was that of the socialist John B. Judis, Washington editor of *In These Times* (December 11-17), and author of a favorable, authorized biography of Bill Buckley. While Judis, too, mutters about dark old Catholicism, and wonders whether Pat's attack on neoconservatives, stems from so many being Jewish, he too understands that Pat's crusade is a war for the soul of the Right. He sees, also, that Pat was one of the first anti-Communist hawks to realize that the Cold War is over, and

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that therefore he quickly became aligned with the "paleoconservatives" led by Russell Kirk and *Chronicles*, in a call for a return to Old Right isolationism.

Judis also notes the affinity of Pat Buchanan with Dr. Samuel Francis, the brilliant *Washington Times* columnist who is constantly pushing the envelope of paleo strategic thinking. Just before launching his campaign, Buchanan and Francis had decided to found a new America First Committee (AFC) to promote right-wing nationalism; after November, and assuming Pat does not win the Republican nomination, the new AFC stands ready to serve, as did the original, as a bipartisan nucleus for a continuing and permanent Buchananite paleo movement. Judis concludes that Buchanan has the potential of seriously wounding George Bush, and, if he concentrates on the recession and right-wing nationalism, to play the same role in 1992 for the Republican Party that George Wallace did for the Democrats in 1968. That is: to shoot the elephant so that, in the long run, it crushes the donkey, and paves the way for paleo power and a return to the Old Republic.

Pat Buchanan, bless him, is gloriously resurrecting the Old Right.

Finally, Andrew Kopkind in *The Nation* (January 6 & 13). The most leftwing of the three writers, Kopkind's article brims with the usual references to Father Couglin, David Duke, "nativist paranoia," "seething violence," and the Germany and Italy of the 1930s. But Kopkind at least writes with humor, he captures some of the spirit and importance of the Buchananite movement, and he appreciates some of Pat's virtues. "As an ideologue," Kopkind writes, Buchanan "is able to lift the campaign from an exercise in poll reading and force the Democrats as well as Bush to think real thoughts and perhaps even say what they mean. That can't be all bad." And how.

Kopkind sees, too, that Buchanan has great potential to take charge permanently of the old conservative movement that is now "leaderless and incoherent," "wandering in the wilderness waiting for a new messiah." Just by announcing, adds Kopkind, Buchanan "becomes the Movement's spokesman," and sets the stage to be its movement leader and a key politico in 1996.

Kopkind also grasps the importance and the power of the right-wing populist rhetoric that Pat Buchanan is calling into being. In particular: the crucial theme of the people "taking the country back," back from the malignant elites that have been ruling over us. As Kopkind quotes Buchanan's repeated motif: "Take back our streets from the criminals"; "take back our party": "take back our country." Way to go, Pat! Let's take them back! ●

Pat Buchanan and the Old Right

by M.N.R.

Some libertarians are still confused: How can I be such an enthusiastic backer of Pat Buchanan for President? Isn't he soft on such issues as free trade and immigration? Isn't Pat in favor of military spending? Doesn't he still say kind words for Ronald Reagan and Richard Nixon? And what about Pat's views on social issues?

I have already written that, in a real world party, one does not look for 100 percent libertarian agreement from a candidate. But that does not put the point strongly enough. The major point is that Pat, bless him, is in the process of gloriously resurrecting a movement that I have mourned and hoped to see revived for over three decades: he is resurrecting the Old Right. I entered the libertarian movement in 1946, when libertarians were an "extreme" but harmonious and

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welcome part of what I have dubbed the Old, or the Original, Right, the Right-Wing as it developed as a fervent and angry reaction against the New Deal and all it stood for. The Old Right was a wonderful, passionate, deep, and strong movement in the American heartland, for the Old Republic and against the welfare state at home and globaloney and war-mongering abroad. It was in a sense a movement of Taft Republicanism, except that Senator Taft himself, even though its premier political leader from 1939 on, was its most leftish, most compromising, and least satisfactory member. Harder-core members were Senators Wherry (R., Neb.), Jenner (R, Ind.), Bricker (R., Oh.), and Representatives Gross (R., Ia.), Frederick C. Smith (R., Oh.), and my friend the principled libertarian Rep. Howard H. Buffett (R., Neb.), who was Senator Taft's midwest campaign manager in 1952. Also highly important was Colonel Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, and the *Tribune*'s entire editorial and reportorial staff.

Pat is reviving the Old Republic, free of all domination and taint by Empire, by nihilism, by the destructiveness of left-liberalism.

The Old Right had a firm set of guiding principles. It was opposed root and branch to the New Deal; it favored free markets, and the private property rights of every American. It opposed the welfare state, and all government regulation of business and industry. It favored low and minimal taxation, low and minimal government spending, balanced budgets, and firm adherence to the gold standard. It opposed any and all attempts to invade property rights on behalf of group victimology, and it opposed the Imperial Presidency, or any invasion of state or personal rights by the federal government. In foreign affairs, it favored America First, and the putting of loyalty to the American nation or American interests far over and above any loyalty to any other nation, such as England, or to any abstract ideology of global meddling, "wars to end war," or wars to achieve "global democracy." In other words, the Old Right strongly opposed any foreign alliances or entanglements, putting treaties over American rights, or waging wars in behalf of such entanglements. Hence, its foreign policy was gloriously nationalist or "isolationist."

The Old Right had no special cultural views, but only because it was firmly rooted in an old, pre-1960s culture that none of us ever thought to question or challenge. Nowadays, an Old Rightist would call stridently for a return to such an Old Culture: that is, to the values, the ethics, and esthetics—in our home, family, schools, art and literature—of individual responsibility, of thrift, of family values, and of a culture that is wholesomely optimistic about ourselves and about our world. It would call for a rejection of the morbid, the nihilistic, the avant-garde.

That indeed is the very Old Right that Pat Buchanan is sounding a trumpet call to resurrect, to revive in America. That is what Pat calls the Old Republic, an Old Republic that is free of all domination and taint by Empire, by nihilism, by the destructiveness of left-liberalism. Pat's call is a veritable call to arms, a call to take back America, a call that comes none too soon and almost too late, a call to take back America from the corrupt elites and victimological groups that are rapidly sending us down the pit to join the late, unlamented Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the rubble of history.

But what about Pat's alleged "deviations"? It is fascinating that these were precisely the areas where the Old Right had disagreements within itself. In the Old Right there were free traders and there were protectionists; and while immigration was not then a lively political issue, there were undoubtedly disagreements on the extent or type of immigration that should be permitted. And on foreign policy, *within* the framework of

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America First nationalism there were disagreements, between degrees of pacifists versus those who urged strong national defense and various degrees of emphasis within such strength; there were disagreements on the degree of "isolationism," from purists like myself who wanted to limit American defense strictly to our shores, to those who wanted to include parts or all of the Western Hemisphere in the U.S. defense perimeter. But these were friendly disagreements, variations within a shared ideology and a shared culture. They were what the Marxists would call "nonantagonistic contradictions." As for Pat's social values, they are what all of our social and cultural values should be. Pat made clear in his New Hampshire announcement that a political official could only encourage such values within the strict framework of a severely "limited government." And as for Pat's religious values, if I were a Catholic I would take precisely the same stand that he has against errant heresy and irreligion within the Church.

And even on trade and immigration, Pat's "protectionism" is more akin to genuine freedom of trade than the views of any other candidate on the horizon. Certainly far more than George Bush. What we have to realize is that "free trade" as mouthed by the Bushies, the neocons, or other wings of the Establishment is far *less* free than the trade policy advocated by Pat Buchanan. For the phony "free trade" advocated by Bush and the neocons encompasses: (a) massive foreign aid subsidies to foreign governments and to American export industries; and (b) currency and banking agreements moving towards global Keynesian inflation and economic and political world government. These latter schemes, firmly and courageously opposed by Buchanan, are the real, living dangers to free trade, far more so than whatever tariffs Pat might come to espouse. It is Establishment "freedom" that poses a clear and present danger to any true concept of free trade. And to all those who still worry about Pat's views on trade: Note carefully that Pat chose to name as the Chairman of his Economic Policy Board, none other than Ron Paul, whose devotion to free trade, and indeed to libertarianism in general, cannot be questioned. Has anyone seen George Bush, or Jack Kemp, or Ed Crane's favorite candidate Pierre duPont, go as far in naming a 100 percent libertarian as head of his economic policy team?

As to immigration, this too is a phony charge, part of the Establishment smear campaign to wrap Pat in the robes of some kind of dark "nativism." Which political candidate, be it Bush, Kemp, duPont, et al., has called for a policy of absolutely open borders? The answer is no one, and no one is likely to either. So it's a phony issue. Every candidate is going to have *some* kind of immigration policy. Pat's basic objection to open borders is not so much economic or Malthusiasian as cultural. And here he makes a strong point: Do we really want tens of millions of Indian, or Zulu, or Chinese boat people suddenly arriving in the U.S.? In our real political world, these problems call for hard thinking and not easy slogans. To the standard critique that *all* of us, including Pat Buchanan, are descendants of immigrants, and also that the United States was traditionally the unique country of open borders, the answer is that that is very true and that America should be honored as the land of open borders and free immigration until World War I. But we also have to realize that America the land of open borders and free immigration was also at one and the same time, a land where there was no welfare state, no compulsory public school system, and an immigration overwhelmingly from Europe as well as by people who all made a commitment to learn and use the English language as quickly as possible. While America was not a "melting pot," it was a gorgeous mosaic *within* a shared framework of European culture and of commitment to the English language, and within a land of freedom and of the rights of private property. Realistically, we cannot advocate open borders *until* such a world and such a commitment is restored in America.

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Can it be restored? After Pat's smash appearance on the McNeil-Lehrer show, a worried Judy Woodruff asked a commentator whether Pat could possibly succeed in going "back" to the Old Republic and its values. The answer is a resounding "Yes!" When I was growing up as a young rebel against the socialism and communism that infested our politics and our political culture, the standard socialist answer to free-market views was that "you can't turn back the clock." Well, the peoples of Russia and the now dead Soviet Union have already given a resounding lie to that phony claim. The clock of communism is smashed forever, broken beyond repair, destroyed, as the Marxists would put it, by "its own contradictions." All we need to restore the Old Republic is the will, and a brave and articulate leader to raise the banner and sound the trumpet call. We now have that leader in Pat Buchanan. We can do it; now that the Cold War is over, we can revive the Old Right and the Old Republic, we can reinvigorate the heartland to throw off the world-governmentalists, as well as the Right-Wing Mensheviks who call themselves "neo-conservatives," the Left-Libertarians, and all the other misleaders of conservatism or classical liberalism. From this point on, Pat Buchanan, by the very existence of his candidacy and his continuing leadership, has redefined the Right, has realigned and redefined the ideological and political spectrum in this country. From now on, Pat Buchanan will be the magnet that realigns politics and through whom everything will be defined. From now on, we are either Buchananites, of whatever nuance, members of a Buchanite movement, or we are anti-Buchananite, or we are confused folk in the middle. These are the three choices and the only three choices, for every American. It is time to choose. •

New World Order, Haiti Department

by M.N.R.

Did you ever feel that you were plunged into the middle of an old Bob Newhart routine? Consider this example of Bush's foreign policy, which is supposed to be his *strength*. After decades, Haiti finally has an election, which brings to power an extreme-left-wing priest, Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, an advocate of torture and "necklacing." Alarmed by Aristide's revival of the brutal, paramilitary *Ton-Ton Macoutes*, a dread legacy of the old Duvalier dictatorship, the Haitian military ousted Aristide in a coup, unwisely allowing him to flee abroad.

Did you ever feel that you were plunged into the middle of an old Bob Newhart routine?

The United States government, angered at this repudiation of "democracy," then maneuvered to get the Organization of American States (OAS) to slap a tight embargo on Haiti, causing mass starvation in an already destitute country. Conducting three-way negotiations, the U.S./OAS finally works out an agreement with the Haitian military, bringing back Aristide, with a "moderate," "compromise" figure as Prime-Minister, none other than Rene Theodore, long-time head of the Communist Party of Haiti. During the half-century of the Cold War, the U.S. government spent a lot of energy looking for "Third Force moderates" in the Third World, and could never find any. Now they have finally found one, and it's the head of the *Communist Party*??!

The *New York Times* reports that the Haitian workers and soldiers are "confused" by this development ("Selection of Communist Stirs Confusion in Haiti," January 11). A Haitian industrialist reported that "even my workers were shaking their heads in confusion . . . They just kept asking: a Communist?" Similarly for the "poorly educated" soldiers, who now had to be informed

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that "one of their few enduring certainties, that Communists were evil," somehow did not apply. Their confusion is compounded by the fact that the military had been applying the "damning" epithet "Communist" to Aristide.

Good. After they get through explaining all this to the poor Haitians, maybe they can explain it to us. One Haitian social-democrat leader offered the excuse that "in the five years, he [Theodore] has been back in Haiti, I have never heard him talking about Marxism." So what? Has everyone ever heard Alger Hiss talking about Marxism? Or any-one else, for that matter, except Western academics?

But that's all right. Haitian confusion, at least, will be eased by the fact that, as soon as the Aristide/Theodore compromise goes through, the United States/OAS will lift its embargo, and the U.S. will start pouring aid funds into Haiti to make up for the losses imposed by that embargo. This leaves, in a state of permanent confusion, that old punching-bag, the U.S. taxpayer, who has to pay for this insanity. And you say they're worried about Pat Buchanan's "isolationism"?! ●

The Smith "Rape" Case

by M.N.R.

The vindication of Willie Kennedy Smith on nationwide TV was a delightful one-two punch to the Monstrous Regiment, coming so soon after the Thomas nomination. Just as we predicted, at the outcome of the case, one of the feminist "experts" whined bitterly on TV: "I suppose that from now on the burden of proof will be on the 'victim.'" Yes, that's the whole idea, lady, the burden of proof is on the plaintiff in a criminal case to prove guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

The vindication of Willie Kennedy Smith on nationwide TV was a delightful one-two punch to the Monstrous Regiment.

The case was preposterous from the beginning: No tearing of dress or underwear from the alleged act of "violence"; none in the household hearing any alleged screams; the convenient loss of memory by The Woman on when and why she voluntarily removed her pantyhose, etc. And once again there was the blather: what possible motive could she have had to lie? Well, let's go down the list: (a) she could be "a nut," as Willie perceptively noted; (b) she could be vindictive; (c) she could be after the Kennedy loot. How? Well, if the criminal case had been won, The Woman could have gone after big bucks in a civil suit.

There was a lot of wailing because testimony about Willie's three previous alleged acts of sexual coercion was not permitted. Those complaints, of course, coming from the same women who consider it simply self-evident that The Woman's previous sexual escapades could not be mentioned. In addition to a single standard being important, we have to consider what The Case helps reveal to us about the time in which we live. Wilt Chamberlain testified recently (but *not* "under oath") that he has slept with 20,000 ladies in his lifetime. Deduct some vigorish for braggadocio, deduct some years for Willie, and we still have a wealthy, good-looking, ostentatiously eligible and clearly not celibate bachelor knocking down—how many?—several thousand? ladies.

Of the several thousand putative ladies, it stands to reason that at least three could be found who were mad at Willie and willing to go after the Kennedy fortune. One of those three, it turns out, spent the night with Willie after the alleged "rape" occurred, and only got mad at him the next morning when he was reading the paper at breakfast instead of paying court to her: after which she decided that she had been, after all, a "victim" of date rape.

An interesting facet of The Woman's character: upon

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meeting Willie, she was happy to meet someone of her stature and class at this trendy singles hangout. Before going off with Willie, she demanded to see his I.D. card to make sure he was a Kennedy. It seems to me that if Willie had had any smarts, this should have been a signal to back off. Could demanding to see your I.D. card have meant that The Woman did not love him for himself alone?

Willie testified that The Woman shifted from consenting adult and seductress to Angry Avenger when he made the tasteless mistake of calling out the name of "Cathie" during their sex act. [Cathie is the name of Willie's former longtime girl friend, who said she never saw any signs of raping behavior; we also now know the vital piece of information that The Woman's name is *not* Cathie.] In another bit of misnaming, The Woman, after their sex act, told Willie: "You raped me, Michael." [In a fact that may or may not be significant, is also the name of The Woman's stepfather.]

One Moral of this story; don't sleep around with so many people that you can't remember the name of the partner of the moment.

One Moral of this story, for bachelors and bachelorettes: don't sleep around with so many people that you can't remember the name of the partner of the moment. Not only is mixing up names bad form, it might also lead to a Fatal Attraction.

And finally: why must we put up with this monstrous double standard in which the innocent accused gets his name and visage plastered all over television, whereas The Woman, at the very least a false accuser and possibly a liar, keeps having her name protected and her face enshrouded in a gray bubble? Who is This Woman? I hate to agree with the odious Alan Dershowitz on anything, but I must admit he has a good point when he says that now that The Woman has been shown to be a false accuser, there is no reason whatever, even that of a repellent double standard, to shroud her identity from the eager public. Free press of America: Name That Woman! ●

Until the Republican convention in August, Llewellyn H. Rockwell Jr., will be taking occasional leaves of absence to serve as senior advisor to the Buchanan for President Campaign.

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